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ABSTRACT

The Youth Employment Planning Team (YEPT) was a joint project of the city of Portland, Oregon, and the School of Urban Affairs at Portland State University. The purpose of the project was to train a group of Portland youths to do youth employment planning by involving them in each stage of an actual planning effort. The results of the project, as well as a description of the way it was organized and carried out, are contained in this report. The planning team was composed of nine youths, aged 15-19, and graduate students and faculty of the School of Urban Affairs. Among their concerns were the need for creation of new jobs versus the displacement of older workers; the creation of jobs with career potential; and the necessity that educational support in the form of academic credit for providing human services be built into the work situation. The local and national economy and the relationship between youth, unemployment, underemployment, low wages, and social problems were examined both statistically and theoretically. A plan was developed to create 50 new permanent jobs for youth in Portland's mass transit agency. Appendices contain statistical data and information on youth unemployment, crime, and wages. (Author/GC)

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YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT:

THE NATURE OF THE PROBLEM AND PROPOSED SOLUTIONS

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Youth Employment Planning Team
School of Urban Affairs
Portland State University

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YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT:

THE NATURE OF THE PROBLEM AND PROPOSED SOLUTIONS

Youth Employment Planning Team
School of Urban Affairs
Portland State University

September, 1977

PREFACE

This paper is the report of the Youth Employment Planning Team (YEPT). YEPT was a jointly-sponsored project between the city of Portland, Oregon, and the School of Urban Affairs at Portland State University. The purpose of the project was to train a group of Portland youth to do youth employment planning by involving them in each stage of an actual planning effort.

The team was composed of nine youths, aged 15-19, and graduate students and faculty of the School of Urban Affairs. The results of this undertaking in employment planning are contained in this report, as well as a description of the way in which we organized and carried out the project.

The opinions expressed in the report are those of the Youth Employment Planning Team, and do not necessarily represent the views of the city of Portland or Portland State University.

Gerald F. Blake, Brice Doetsch, Dennis Hoffman,
Huey Martin, James Mason, Carla Moore, Tonya Patterson,
Lee Penn, Terryhl Prince, Velma Rhodes, Doris Rush,
Keith Ward, and Lorretta White

Youth Employment Planning Team
School of Urban Affairs
Portland State University

September, 1977

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INTRODUCTION

The youth and adults of the Youth Employment Planning Team (YEPT) have produced a plan this summer to create 50 new permanent jobs for youth aged 14-19 in Tri-Met, Portland's mass-transit agency. They developed this plan after studying the local and national economy, the problems of youth and work, and ways to create new jobs for youth in the human services. YEPT planners designed these entry-level transit-aide jobs in consultation with labor and management at Tri-Met.

YEPT expects that, with government funding, these jobs will begin within the next six months. Up to 50 youths will be hired to work part-time while in school and full-time during the summer for the next several years. Team members hope that, after a trial period to test the effectiveness of the program, the plan can be expanded within Tri-Met and to other employers.

The YEPT effort was guided by three central concerns. First, jobs should be created in areas where community needs were evident, but not presently being met. In this sense YEPT was engaged in work creation. It was felt that the creation of new jobs for youth would ensure that young workers do not force adults into unemployment. Second, jobs should be created in areas where clear career potential exists, either vertically within the organization, or horizontally to related fields or careers. Third, there should be strong educational support built into the work situation in the form of granting of academic credit and providing human service related curriculum to the youth workers. It is felt that the cooperation of the school and the workplace to train the

young worker can develop youths' skills and talents to a high level, equipping them to find a permanent job with a future.

YEPT analyzed youth unemployment and underemployment in the context of problems that the whole society faces: a stagnant economy, an environmental/energy crisis, and the threat of cuts in social services such as health care, education, environmental protection, and community development. Hence it is the team's conclusion that it is not enough to plug youths into existing jobs; new jobs, and new types of work situations must be created.

TOO FEW JOBS

The most noticeable work problem that youth face is mass unemployment. Youth unemployment has been worsening since the Korean War, but has become especially severe since 1969. The lowest unemployment of the post-World War II period was in 1953, when the unemployment rate for the population as a whole was 2.9 percent. A comparison of unemployment rates for youth between the years 1953 and 1977, as reported by the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the Federal Government, shows how much worse the problem has become (see Table I).

These data show that unemployment rates are up sharply for youth in all age, race, and sex categories. Those under 18, along with women and blacks, suffered the sharpest increases in unemployment over the long run. Moreover, this increase in unemployment is not due to a rise in the youth labor force participation rate; that is, the proportion of the population working or actively seeking work. Young black men, who suffered the sharpest proportional

Table I

UNEMPLOYMENT RATES, PERCENT OF CIVILIAN LABOR FORCE UNEMPLOYED, BY AGE, SEX AND RACE

Race, Sex, Age	1953 (Korean War boom)	June, 1977	Percent Increase in Official Unemployment, 1953-1977
WHITE MALE			
16-17	8.9%	21.8%	145%
18-19	7.1	14.2	100
20-24	4.5	9.0	100
WHITE FEMALE			
16-17	8.3	23.5	183
18-19	6.0	16.7	178
20-24	4.1	10.2	149
NONWHITE MALE			
16-17	8.3	50.4	507
18-19	8.1	34.7	328
20-24	8.1	22.8	181
NONWHITE FEMALE			
16-17	10.3	56.9	452
18-19	9.9	44.5	349
20-24	5.5	23.0	318
Both races and sexes, age 25 and over	2.4	4.9	104

For this report, YEPT has kept footnotes to a minimum to make the report more readable. All sources used are listed in the bibliography at the end of the report; there are also several statistical appendices. In tables with percentages, figures may not add up to 100% due to rounding.

increases in unemployment, have at present, much lower labor force participation rates than they did in the early 1950s. Only among white women has the proportion of the youth propulation in the labor force increased significantly. (For additional historical data on unemployment and labor force participation, see Tables I and II in Statistical Appendix I, on unemployment.)

Government statistics also show that blacks, women, veterans, the poor, and the young are being left behind in the recovery from the 1975 recession, the worst since the Great Depression.

Since 1975 unemployment has risen (or fallen only minimally) for men aged 16-17 and for women under 24. For each age group (16-17, 18-19, 20-24, and over 25), joblessness for women fell less than for men. (Table III in Statistical Appendix gives the figures.)

For youths between 16 and 19, white unemployment fell noticeably after 1975, to 16 percent in the second quarter of 1977--while black unemployment, at 38 percent, was virtually unchanged from its disastrous 1975 level. To make matters worse, unemployment for black youths in the city rose during a period of economic expansion. (Tables IV and V in Statistical Appendix I give the official data on unemployment among blacks.)

Despite government efforts, young Vietnam veterans still have unemployment rates far higher than those for non-veterans of the same age. (Table VI in Statistical Appendix I gives the details.) Finally unemployment for young female heads of households, a group facing a high risk of poverty, did not fall as far as unemployment rates for male household heads of the same age. (Table VII, Appendix I.)

At the end of the second year of the economic recovery, unemployment rates for students between 16 and 21 remain well above jobless rates for nonstudents of the same age. Part of the reason is that students repeatedly move into and out of the labor market, and by the nature of their schedules must frequently change jobs. This partial explanation does not alleviate the hardship experienced by a student who needs work to pay school costs, and to support himself and possibly a family (whether that be parents, or a wife and children.)

The proportion of students who seek work has risen sharply since 1954; hence, the need has grown, but society has not kept pace in providing work for students that will give them enough money, experience, and skills to qualify for a permanent job later in life. (Tables VIII and IX in Statistical Appendix I give the data.)

As grim as these figures may be, they may still underestimate the extent of youth joblessness. The Bureau of Labor Statistics counts the unemployed as those who are not working at all now, and who have actively sought work in the last month. These people, plus the employed, make up the labor force. The unemployment rate is calculated by dividing the number of unemployed by the number of those in the labor force. Those who have stopped actively looking for work because of discouragement with job prospects, or for other reasons are not included in the labor force and so they are not "counted" as unemployed. However, roughly 10% of those "not in the labor force" this June answered "yes" when Bureau of Labor Statistics surveyors asked, "Do you want a job now?" So, if one were to include these persons in the labor force it could be stated that present government figures <u>undercount</u> the actual labor force.

Also, employment is overestimated by including among the employed those who are on "involuntary part time work"--people who want full-time jobs, but can only find part-time ones, or people whose usually-full-time jobs have shrunk to part-time because of slack demand. Since these people are short of income and job security for economic reasons not of their own making, it is reasonable to subtract them from the government's list of the employed, and add them to the unemployed.

If one uses the revised and expanded concepts of the "labor force," and the "unemployed" to arrive at a more realistic unemployment rate, Bureau of Labor Statistics data show unemployment to be double the official rates for the second quarter of 1977--44 percent for those from age 16 to 19, 22 percent for those from 20 to 24, and 11.2 percent for those over 25. These numbers show that present private employment growth and government programs are too small in scale to have any significant impact on unemployment. (Statistical Appendix II contains more information on the expanded unemployment concept.)

The unemployment data show that to cut youth unemployment, especially among those groups hardest hit, program developers must push against long-standing trends embedded in the normal working of the economy. In particular, vigorous recruiting, as well as removal of explicitly and implicitly discriminatory policies are needed if programs are to aid Blacks, Chicanos, women, ghetto dwellers, high school dropouts, high school and college students, and veterans. Now-prevailing public and private investment and personnel policies (including job training, qualifications, testing, on-the-job discipline, information on job

openings, and counseling) have failed to provide enough work for those who seek it, and may instead be contributing to the problems of a mass of unemployable youth. It would seem then, that those who plan youth job programs must innovate or be doomed to failure.

DEAD-END JOBS

Not only do many youth lack work, but most who do work hold low-wage, dead-end jobs. Youth are caught in the occupations with the lowest pay, the highest unemployment rates, and the lowest status. Let's examine some figures.

Table II

PROPORTION OF TOTAL EMPLOYMENT IN GIVEN OCCUPATION, JUNE 1977

Age 14-15		Age 16-19		Age 20+	
22.8%	House servants	26.0%	Service workers	50.9%	Professionals, managers, and craftsmen
19.4	Nonfarm laborers	17.3	Clerical workers		
17.2	Service workers	16.0	Nonfarm laborers	17.4	Clerical
16.1	Farm laborers	14.3	Operatives	15.4	Operatives
12.4	Sales	9.9	Professionals, managers, farmers, and craftsmen	11.2	Service workers
4.5	Clerical			6.1	Sales
3.9	Operatives	7.9	Sales	4.6	Nonfarm laborers
3.8	Professionals, managers, farmers, and craftsmen	5.6	Farm laborers	1.5	Farmers and farm laborers
		3.1	House servants	1.0	House servants
1.954 million employed		8.620 million employed		83.063 million employed	

This table shows that youth tend disproportionally to hold the worst jobs. The occupational titles suggest the work normally done by youth: household servant, worker at a fast-food restaurant, bus-boy, dishwasher, farm laborer, carwasher, janitor, unskilled laborer, file clerk, typist, messenger.

The table also provides an indication of the extent of sex stereotyping that occurs at this stage of participation in the world of work. The majority of employed 14 and 15 years old males are laborers, sales workers, and service workers; while the majority of employed females of that age are domestic servants and service workers outside the home. The majority of employed 16-19 year old males are semiskilled operatives, laborers, and service workers; females are in service work, sales, and clerical work.

Government data also show that the occupations that youth are crowded into are the ones that pay the least. In 1975, the Census Bureau reported the average weekly pay of full-time wage and salary workers, measured in 1967 dollars to correct for inflation, for the different occupations.

Table III

AVERAGE REAL WEEKLY PAY BY OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY, 1975

Household servants	$ 34	Operatives	$103
Farm laborers	$ 70	Sales	$119
Nonhousehold service workers	$ 77	Craftsmen	$140
Clerical	$ 94	Prof. & technical	$154
Nonfarm laborers	$ 97	Managers & administrators	$172

Eighty percent of youth between 14 and 15 were in the five lowest-paid occupations; 68 percent of those between 16 and 19 were in low-wage jobs, as were 58 percent of those over 20. It would be understandable if these low-paying jobs were entry-level positions offering opportunity for both horizontal and vertical mobility. One could then argue that the real pay-off of such work lies in its future promise of a career. However, most positions occupied by youth offer little or no chance for advancement.

Youth also suffered the most loss in real pay in the 1973-75 recession as shown by the same Census survey.

Table IV

AVERAGE WEEKLY PAY BY SEX AND AGE, 1973-75

Age and Sex	1973 Average Weekly Pay	1975 Average Weekly Pay	Percent Change 1973-1975
Male, 16-24	$103	$ 94	-8.7%
Male, 25+	154	148	-3.9
Female, 16-24	78	73	-6.4
Female, 25+	92	92	-0

Not surprisingly, given the high youth unemployment figures, youth are concentrated in occupations with the highest rates of unemployment. Nonfarm laborers, operatives, and service workers, whether domestic or in industry are the three occupations with jobless rates far above all the others in boom or slump since World War II. These high-unemployment occupations account for 63 percent of 14-15 year-old workers, 59 percent of those between 16 and 19, and 32 percent of those over 20.

All of what we have said to this point does not mean that most adult jobs pay adequately, offer security, status, and good working conditions, and allow for the all-round development of the skills of adult workers. If Studs Terkel (Working), Harry Braverman (Labor and Monopoly Capital), Barbara Garson (All the Livelong Day), H.E.W.'s Work in America, and other analysts of work are to be believed, they do not. The difference between the quality of adult and youth jobs is often that between fair-to-poor and abysmal.

HIGH CRIME

Youth have very high rates of unemployment and usually have dead-end jobs when they get any work. They are economically pinched--or if not, may consider themselves so if tempted by drugs or expensive goods that only those with steady, well-paying jobs can afford. For many, society offers few acceptable roles: the choice is between being a hustler or a toilet attendant. Combined with the political powerlessness of being young, and therefore unable to vote or participate in decisions which affect their lives and community, and being immersed in an educational system characterized by enforced passivity and vacuous curriculum, many youths have become "turned off" or alienated from the mainstream.[1] Resulting anger and despair can lead some youth into violent crime and drugs; economic need or boredom likewise fuels robbery, car theft, and other economic crime.

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[1] For a detailed discussion of the role schools play in alienating students see Arthur Pearl's The Atrocity of Education and Kenneth Polk and Walter Schafer's Schools and Delinquency, as well as the 1967 President's Crime Commission report: Task Force Report on Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime.

When youth are frozen out of the economic mainstream, as preceding sections of the paper show that they are, society's rewards for conformity and sanctions for crime may lose their power to excite or to terrify. "Stay in school, get good grades, keep your nose clean and get a good job . . . but there are no jobs anyway."

On these assumptions, it is reasonable to expect that since youth are economically worse off than adults, their crime rates will be higher. One might also have anticipated that youth crime rates would rise rapidly in the 1970s, as the economy stagnated. Both expectations are borne out by arrest statistics from Portland city police and the FBI.

It should be noted however, that there are problems with using police arrest statistics to show how much crime there is. Much crime is never reported to police, and agencies can and often do manipulate the data. Also, if the laws, enforcement priorities, or number and activity of police change, arrests will change without necessarily proving that the incidence of crime has changed.

As the table below indicates, arrests and the arrest rate are up sharply for Portland youth between 1969 and 1976. The arrest rate for the crimes specified rose 21 percent from 1969 to 1976. Adult arrests are also up sharply with the arrest rate rising 45 percent.

For both youth and adults, major violent crimes accounted for the entire increase in violent crime between 1969 and 1976. Youth arrest rates have been higher than adult rates, but that gap is closing due to soaring adult crime.

Table V

CITY POLICE ARRESTS OF PERSONS UNDER 18

	Total Arrests	
	1969	1976
MAJOR VIOLENT CRIME Homicide, forcible rape, robbery, aggravated assault	140	273
ALL VIOLENT CRIME Major violent crimes, plus other assaults and weapons charges	380	450
ECONOMIC CRIME Burglary, auto theft, larceny, arson, forgery, counterfeiting, fraud, embezzlement, stolen property, prostitution	2,505	2,648
ARREST RATE Arrests per 1,000 people under 18 for ALL VIOLENT CRIMES AND ECONOMIC CRIMES	25.02	30.37

Table VI

CITY POLICE ARRESTS OF PERSONS OVER 18

	1969	1976
MAJOR VIOLENT CRIME	417	851
ALL VIOLENT CRIME	1,429	1,622
ECONOMIC CRIME	1,895	3,508
ARREST RATE	12.66	18.32

Table VII

PERCENTAGE INCREASE IN ARRESTS SINCE 1969 FOR PORTLAND

Type of Crime	Youth (under 18)	Adult (18 and over)
MAJOR VIOLENT	45%	105%
ALL VIOLENT	18	13
ECONOMIC	6	85

In 1976 youth represent 27 percent of the city's population, so they are "overrepresented" only in arrests for economic crime. The proportion of total economic crime arrestees who are under 18 has fallen sharply since 1969, due to the sharp increase in adult arrests. This may be, in part, due to the faster rate of increase of adult unemployment from 1969-1976 than for youth unemployment. Adult joblessness remains far below that for youth, but the size of the adult advantage has narrowed considerably from 1969 to 1976. (See Table II in Statistical Appendix I for details.)

Table VIII

PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL ARRESTEES UNDER 18, BY TYPE OF CRIME

	1969	1976
MAJOR VIOLENT	25.1%	24.1%
ALL VIOLENT	21.0	21.7
ECONOMIC	56.9	43.0

For Portland, as for other parts of the U.S., black youth are over-represented in the arrest statistics. That is, of those arrested for violent and economic crime, the proportions of blacks far exceed blacks representation in the population. (Further statistics on Portland crime are available in Statistical Appendix III.)

Table IX

1976 RACIAL BREAKDOWN OF ARRESTEES UNDER 18, BY TYPE OF CRIME

	White	Black	Indian, Chinese, Japanese, Other
All Violent	67%	32%	1%
Economic	72%	25%	2%

On the national level, FBI statistics comparing 1960 and 1975 arrests show that between 1960 and 1975, youth arrests grew more rapidly than adult arrests for virtually all crimes listed in the Uniform Crime Reports. The only exceptions were auto theft, weapons violations, and sex offenses (excluding prostitution and rape). The following table shows how crime reported to the FBI by enforcement agencies covering 95 million people in 1976 rose from 1960 levels:

Table X

POLICE ARRESTS BY AGE AND TYPE OF CRIME, 1960-1975

	1960	1975	Percentage Change in Crime
ARRESTS OF THOSE UNDER 18			
Major Violent	15,480	60,560	+291.2%
All Violent	34,591	117,456	+239.6
Economic	192,721	463,363	+140.2
ARRESTS OF THOSE 18 AND OVER			
Major Violent	87,420	184,681	+126.8%
All Violent	225,391	429,859	+ 90.7
Economic	274,520	677,686	+146.9

Violent crime rose more rapidly among youth; economic crime rose slightly more rapidly among adults.

In 1976 youths under 15 represented nearly one-fourth of the population. Law enforcement agencies covering 179,000,000 people reported to the FBI that youths under 15 represented a disproportionate share of arrests for arson (34 percent), vandalism (38 percent), and status offenses (runaway, curfew, and the like).

Youths under 18, comprising nearly one-third of the population, accounted for disproportionate numbers of arrests for robbery (34 percent), burglary (53 percent), larceny (45 percent), auto theft (55 percent), stolen property (33 percent), liquor law violations (40 percent), and also of arrests for the offenses given for 15-year olds: arson (53 percent), vandalism (65 percent), and 100 percent of status offenses.

Data from 1976 covering 179 million people show that 1,087,090 youth under 18 were arrested for felonies listed in the Uniform Crime Report (homicide, forcible rape, robbery, aggravated assault, burglary, larceny, auto theft, assault, arson, forgery, counterfeiting, fraud, embezzlement, stolen property, weapons, and drug laws). Of these arrests, all but 299,973 (28 percent) were for economic crimes (those other than homicide, rape, robbery, assault, weapons, and drugs). Put differently, 72 percent of total youth arrests for serious crimes are for economic crime.

Several researchers have connected the high rate of property crime among youth to high youth unemployment. In 1963 economist Belton Fleisher found that doubling the unemployment rate would raise delinquency by 25 percent. He estimated that reducing youth unemployment from the 14 percent level prevailing after 1957 to the 8 percent level of the early 1950s would cut youth property crime by roughly 10 percent. Recent data from Portland, although they must be interpreted cautiously, support Fleisher's findings.

An explanation of the drawing of this conclusion from the Portland data and the computations involved will be found in Statistical Appendix III.

If Fleisher is correct, a youth-employment program large enough to slash youth unemployment rates would have social benefits over and above the output produced and wages earned by the new employees. A reduction in youth crime could release some of society's resources from insurance and security into more productive uses. Then too, it seems likely that the fear and mistrust which pervade the cities could lessen, along with the intensified racism and popular demands for legal repression that are part of the resporse to high crime.

YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT AND UNDEREMPLOYMENT ARE STRUCTURAL PROBLEMS

Drawing upon the writings and perspectives of several observers of youth employment, the YEPT team finds these problems with existing youth work:

--Most jobs for youth are dead end--low pay, low status, and offering little opportunity for training, either to advance in a career or to transfer to a better job in another career.

--There is little continuity to most youth jobs. A youth may work at a berry farm one summer, Fred Meyer's the next, and McDonald's after that--and be no closer to qualifying for a good job at the end of these three summers than he/she was at the beginning. There are two few part-time jobs available for youth who need to work while in school. To date we are not aware of any programs tying together part-time work, summer work, and school work so that the youth's experiences let him/her try different lines of work, progressively develop skills on the job, and take school classes to learn what is necessary for success on the job.

These problems are part of larger dilemmas that confront society as a whole:

--There are too few jobs for all workers, whether adults or youth--even though there are vast unmet needs for housing, health care, better education, mass transit, energy conserving projects, alternative energy sources, childcare, and recreation. Millions could be employed in expanding provision of these goods and services, but are not, seemingly because there are no profits to be made that way.

--Most workers must choose between working 40 hours a week or not at all, fitting what management chooses to offer regardless of worker needs for flexible scheduling or shorter hours for such activities as raising children or going to school.

--Few jobs available to anyone, young or old, provide good pay, security, and a chance for the worker to develop skills for promotion or eventual change to a new career. Adults who start as factory workers will very rarely rise to professional or managerial levels.

--Schools serve many interests, and the needs of their students do not always come first. Schools keep many students out of the labor market and off the unemployment rolls for a few years; they also sort and label youth, via grading, testing, counseling, ability-grouping, and unequal financing of rich and poor districts' schools. This system labels many youths as failures who then can be shunted to the bottom of the labor market, while letting a small minority of upper-class and upper-middle-class students have a ticket to a good college and a professional or executive job.

Creating more jobs of the kind that exist now will not solve the work problem of youth. Many existing youth employment programs have youth performing busywork (cleaning up litter, unskilled manual labor, raking leaves) for a few months, at the minimum wage. Such jobs do little to help youths find desirable, permanent work, and such jobs may do little to lure youth away from hustling, stealing, drugs, and other deviant activities as a way of life.

WHAT YOUTH EMPLOYMENT SHOULD BE LIKE

Youth and adults of YEPT, pooling their experience in the job market, with the theory and experience of other programs, believe that a youth

employment program should have the following aspects if it is to effectively cut youth unemployment and disaffection, and lead youth into productive careers that contribute to society's welfare and the youth's own development.

--Jobs should train youth while they are working so that they can be promoted and enter a long-term career. It should also be possible for youth to transfer from one entry-level job to another in a different occupation in order to obtain experience on which to base a career choice.

--Jobs should be organized so that youth can work and remain in school; this calls for a long-term program of part-time work during the school year and full-time during the summer. School counselors, administrators, and teachers should work with youth and parents to provide and steer youth toward courses that will enhance work experiences in their present and prospective jobs. For Portland, this means that more staff will be needed to handle the added workload of the work experience coordinators. In the creation of job-related courses, school officials must avoid the pitfalls so common in today's vocational education, i.e., training youth in overspecialized, dead-end, or obsolete tasks, and labeling or channeling youth in a way that perpetuates institutional race, sex, and class barriers.

--Jobs should be in careers that will not rapidly become obsolete, and that have prospects for steady growth in future employment. With the energy crisis likely to worsen, this seems to dictate a shift in planning orientation away from youth jobs in energy-intensive, extractive and productive industries. (Such industries are doubly unpromising for youth jobs in that they produce few jobs of any kind per dollar invested; energy-intensive industries are usually capital-intensive rather than labor-intensive.)

--Employment in private construction and production of durable goods is not optimal, since recessions (which normally occur every three to four years) cause demand in these industries to collapse--sending droves of their workers into the streets. In such cyclical industries, youth are especially vulnerable, since they have little seniority to protect them against layoffs.

--Youth employment programs need to create <u>new</u> jobs, with accompanying career ladders. Failure to do this, meaning that government money would be used to steer youth more efficiently into existing jobs, will result in youth competing for scarce jobs with adult breadwinners. Such antagonism would do little to benefit unemployed youth.

--Youth job programs should provide adequate incentive to work, and work well. Incentives should include a decent wage which rises with experience, skill, and proven performance on the job. (Technical Appendix IV quantifies what a "decent wage" is.) The personal benefits of work should include, to some degree, feelings of competence, usefulness, power, and excitement on the job.

--Newly-created jobs should provide youth with the opportunity to help people, and meet needs perceived by them and the community as being important. This will help the community to more readily accept young workers, and should give youths an additional incentive to work well, and to see themselves as connected with, and important to society--which may reduce youth disaffection and crime.

--The job criteria of satisfying perceived and unmet social needs, creating new permanent jobs, and doing so in industries that are not energy- or capital-intensive dictate an emphasis on creation of public-sector, human service jobs for youth. Such jobs can be planned for and maintained regardless of economic instability or business investment decisions. Furthermore, they do not compete with or swamp the market for the private sector.

Priming the economic pump to indirectly create more jobs or creation of a new Civilian Conservation Corps would not create enough desirable jobs for youth.

An effective youth employment program would have to be very large to dent the unemployment problem. As of June 1977, among people aged 14-19, there are 13,528,000 people in the labor force, of whom 2,954,000 (22 percent) are officially unemployed. To reduce youth unemployment to 8 percent, the level in 1953 (the peak of the Korean War boom), would require creation of 1.8 million jobs for the June 1977 teenage population--and even more if the news of this jobs program led youth not now in the labor force to seek work. To reduce youth unemployment to 3 percent, the level in 1944, (the lowest-unemployment year during World War II), would require creation of 2.5 million jobs. By contrast, since 1947, civilian employment growth for the entire labor force over 16 years old has exceeded 1.7 million only 4 times--1955, 1966, 1969, and 1973.

If youth aged 14-19 who seek full-time work but only find part-time jobs, and youth who are no longer in the labor force, but still want a job now are counted among those desiring work, the need becomes more massive. It would require 5.6 million jobs to reduce real youth unemployment to the 8.7 percent level officially claimed in 1953--and 6.5 million jobs to cut real teenage joblessness to the 3 percent of the labor force claimed by the government in 1944. By contrast, even during the 1964-1969 boom years, employment of those aged 16-19 grew an average of only 310,000 per year.

In short, creation of enough desirable jobs for youth to reduce their unemployment to acceptable levels would require a major reorientation of the U.S. economy. Large new social service and job subsidy programs would need to be put into place, requiring a shift of resources from the private to the public sector, and calling forth a major increase in government planning of investment in order to create the new jobs and service programs. Big business has amply proven its inability to employ adequate numbers of youth over the last 30 years.[2] Instead, publicly-set priorities based on social need must replace profit as the way to allocate resources and invest for growth, if we are to seriously attack youth joblessness. The cost of such a youth employment program will be high, as will any similar program for adults. Equitable financing will require heavy taxation of the richest 20-30 percent of the population and/or diversion of industrial profits and military spending to meet human service needs. But can we afford not to initiate such an undertaking?

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[2] For example, figures from Fortune for the largest 500 industrial corporations show that between 1970 and 1975, the largest 500 firms' share of gross national product rose from 47 percent to 57 percent, while their proportion of total employment fell from 19 percent to 17 percent. Their sales rose $400 billion over that period, but their employment fell by 200,000.

TRI-MET: A BEGINNING

Tri-Met, the local public transit agency, was chosen as the site for job creation because its workers fulfill a still inadequately met social need, and because the agency is likely to have steady employment growth as energy costs, congestion, and pollution force more people to turn to public transit. To date, the agency has had no layoffs, even during recessions. Tri-Met itself plans to triple its ridership by 1990, with corresponding growth in employment. Without active program intervention, youth would be unlikely to benefit from this potential employment growth (at present only 4 employees of Tri-Met's 1,200 workers are under the age of 21).

YEPT's goals were modest: to develop new jobs for up to 50 Portland youth in Tri-Met. The proposals for the newly created jobs include on-the-job training, and summer and part-time work which allows the young worker to remain in school to take coursework that will enhance job performance. The newly hired workers will also receive academic credit for their work experience. One of the intents of the demonstration project is to show, for one agency, in one city, how a program to create good jobs for youth can work. If this initial stage is successful, the YEPT will cooperate with city of Portland and Tri-Met officials, as well as labor leaders to expand youth employment opportunities.

Policy

YEPT's intent is to create new youth jobs at Tri-Met that will provide new services to the public. These services will be geared toward the objective of making transportation more attractive and thus to increase bus

ridership. The following policies would govern the jobs:

--Within the next year, 50 new jobs for youth between 15 and 19 will be created--5 youth planning aides, 25 marketing aides, 10 Lift Service attendants, and 10 people working in operations and maintenance. Draft job descriptions will follow. Thus far, Tri-Met has agreed to hire 8 people to work on the Lift Service and 30 people to work in marketing. Details on the other jobs remain to be fully worked out.

--The jobs will be funded by the Federal Government through the City of Portland's Youth Services Division for at least two years. Tri-Met will train the youths; this will be its only additional cost. There will be one CETA supervisor for each 10 youths hired. Tri-Met could receive two additional CETA people to handle the youths' payroll and other related paperwork, in order to relive the burden of the personnel office. (The draft proposal to Tri-Met envisioned one supervisor for five youth planners, two supervisors for 25 marketing aides, one supervisor for five mechanics aides, and one for ten Lift Service attendants.)

--Work experience coordinators from local high schools, as well as several teachers should be involved to provide educational support to the new workers.

--Most jobs will go to youths in high school or community college; youth career-training managers, along with school work-experience coordinators will take applications and, with Tri-Met personnel officials, will hire youths. The work-experience coordinators will counsel youths to include appropriate courses in their school curriculum.

--Minor brushes with the law should not preclude youth from being considered for these positions.

--Existing affirmative action policies will apply, with special attention to recruiting women and minorities. There should be a mixture of poor and middle-income youths, so that the program does not become stigmatized among youth or adults as "welfare." Responsibility, willingness to work, willingness to learn, and willingness to cooperate with supervisors, co-workers, and the public should be primary criteria for hiring.

--As the youths remain on their jobs, they should receive pay raises. By the end of several years' work in the agency, they should be well-enough trained to successfully compete for permanent adult jobs and union apprenticeships/membership within the agency.

--Young workers should have a say in the design and goals of their jobs, as well as in their daily operations.

--Youths should work up to three hours per day during the school year and full-time during the summer. Where appropriate workers should were uniforms or other clearly visible insignia identifying them as Tri-Met employees.

Job Descriptions

The job descriptions which follow are preliminary proposals, accepted, in part, by management and labor at Tri-Met. All need more clarification, especially in developing training for youths in school and on-the-job, in arranging supervision, in cooperation with the Transit Workers' Union, and in further defining job duties.

Marketing Aides

Transit Information Aide. Tri-Met has provisionally agreed that 11 youth will work on the Portland Mall and at other major transit stations (Lloyd Center, Washington Square, and Barbur Boulevard Transit Station). They will answer the public's questions about the bus system, receive complaints, distribute schedules, and monitor bus stops for cleanliness and safety. These jobs will meet an increasing need as rising transit use brings more and more people unfamiliar with the buses onto Tri-Met. Qualifications include familiarity with city transit routes and common destinations, as well as the ability to deal tactfully with a diverse public, including the elderly, the handicapped, visitors, and harassed commuters. High school and community college educational support should include coursework or special units on human psychology, mass transportation systems and first aid. Those successful in this job should be able to move up into other public relations/information posts.

Promotional Aide. There will be five or six youths hired to promote Tri-Met in junior high schools, high schools, and community colleges by giving speeches, setting up and maintaining information tables and stands, and by other means. There will be two shifts of workers: from 9-12 a.m. and 1-4 p.m. Monday through Friday. Youth working in these jobs need to be able to speak and write well, and will need school training in sales, speech, and public relations.

Entertainment Aide. These five or six youths will arrange for strolling musicians, artists, performers, dancers, jugglers, and other entertainers to perform on the Transit Mall. (The artists may be on CETA grants.) The aides will handle logistics, and deal with problems as they arise. If successful, this service could enhance Tri -Met's image and make waiting for buses less onerous. For this position and the provision of entertainment, these problems remain unresolved: noise, congestion at performance sites, public acceptance of the entertainers, and public willingness to see its tax dollars spent this way. For this job, there would be shifts of 9-12 a.m. and 1-4 p.m. weekdays, and 11-2 on Saturdays. These aides should be able to work with people, have an interest in music, and be able to handle scheduling and logistics.

Lift Attendant. These eight to ten youths will ride with the Lift bus to help the elderly and the handicapped with packages while in town, on the bus, and on their way home. By union rule, they will not operate the Lift door.. The will be hired by Lift drivers, and will receive empathy training and first aid instruction. They will be on call for those seeking Lift service. YEPT proposed that the escorts work on 3-hour shifts, from 7 a.m. to 10 p.m., Monday through Friday. Those who succeed in this job could consider human service and health care work.

YEPT has also devised these positions, which are still under discussion with Tri-Met.

Transit Conductor. Those holding this job, which was abolished within the last 20 years, would call out bus stops, provide riders with transfers and route information, keep the bus free of trash, and (especially on commuter shuttle routes) would sell newspapers, magazines, and coffee. Such a person, clearly identified as a company employee, could by his/her presence, deter vandalism and disorder on buses. Conductors would make the work of the driver easier and make riding the bus more convenient for passengers. There would be five 3-hour shifts, between 7 a.m. and 10 p.m. on weekdays, and two 3-hour shifts from 10 a.m. to 5 p.m. on weekends. Qualifications would be the same as for transit information aides; training in security, first aid, and control of small fires would be useful.

Mechanics Aide. Youths in these positions would do vehicle maintenance work in Tri-Met garages. They would be under the direction of, and have duties not conflicting with, union Tri-Met mechanics. The job should prepare youth for a union apprenticeship with the company. Shifts would be set by Tri-Met officials and union members. School education should include mathematics, drafting, engineering, and vehicle mechanics.

Planning Aide. These youths would help Tri-Met plan bus service. Their role would be to solicit, evaluate, and draft proposals to adult planners based on peer and the wider community's suggestions. Their role might be best served if they work with students and parents in their school, and with citizens in their local neighborhood associations to provide more community input into Tri-Met's operations. These jobs would benefit youth by developing their research and public relations skills;

abilities of use in many careers. They should study economics, basic statistics and algebra, political science, writing, speech, and interviewing techniques. This would be appropriate as an upper-level aide job. They would monitor and help evaluate the youth employment program, with the help of adults from Portland State University.

CONCLUSION

Besides public transportation, there are many other lines of work, agencies, and firms which could benefit from the YEPT approach to planning for youth employment. Here are examples of some potential job ladders:

--Childcare

Childcare aide, childcare teacher, teacher aide, teaching assistant, teacher.

--Laboratory work

Laboratory aide, lab technician, professional jobs in physical and biological sciences.

--Medicine

Nurses' aide, physicians' aide, dental aide, paramedic, medical technician, nurse, physician, medical technologist.

--Cleaning and maintenance work

(Progressing to care of larger areas and maintenance of more complex structures and machines.) Carpentry, plumbing, electrical work, masonry, building design and renovation.

--Data procession

Keypuncher, data processor, computer operator, programmer.

--Administrative support

Clerical/secretarial work, administrative assistant, administration/management.

--Research

Research aide, research assistant, research associate, teaching.

--Conservation work

Biological/environmental aide, technician, ranger, farmer, biologist, veterinarian.

--Security

Unarmed watcher, security guard, police work.

What these job ladders imply is that most entry-level jobs need to be redesigned to allow workers in them to develop their skills so that they can advance in their career or change to another if it suits them. Applied broadly, these career ladders counter the notion that only those with college credentials can advance to higher-level jobs. Likewise, these job-redesign proposals attack the traditional management prerogatives of hiring workers as they choose, segregating and dividing their work force at will, and designing jobs with an eye to raising their own profits and control over the firm, rather than to the welfare of the worker. This, like other aspects of a large employment program for youth or adults, might be very unpopular with some businesses.

A long march with many pitfalls lies between the YEPT-proposed Tri-Met program and a large national youth employment, job redesign, and full-employment program. Among the problems facing such large proposals are:

--Financing. Most working peoples' budgets are squeezed tight by taxes and inflation, and existing taxes are widely seen as unjust. Financing a large youth-jobs program would be impractical and very unpopular without large-scale tax reform, so that the rich pay their share, and without spending cuts in other government programs that support capital-intensive industry (i.e., the military) but create few jobs per dollar invested.

--Politics. A sizeable alliance for youth jobs and full employment is needed, one that can mobilize resources and organize on a large scale. Despite small beginnings in many parts of the nation, forces supporting full employment are still weak and divided, and in need of national level communication, and sharing of programs, strategies, and tactics. In forming this alliance, youth must cooperate with organized and unorganized adult workers.

--Schools may resist the "intrusion" of program planners and employee trainers onto their monopolized turf of educating youth.

--The U.S. economy is due for a long period of high unemployment and slow growth. Adult fear of youth competition for scarce jobs and the financial squeeze on government at all levels will make the enactment of meaningful reform quite difficult. To avert clashes with adult workers, youth employment planners must be wary of training youth for entry-level jobs in careers that already have a large surplus of adult labor. Youth employment programs must not become a means for employers to cut wages and substitute younger for older workers.

ON THE THEORY OF YOUTH PARTICIPATION

During the summer of 1977, the Youth Employment Planning Team leaders hired a group of Portland youths to plan new jobs in Tri-Met. In setting up this team, and in designing the new jobs, YEPT operated on the basis of a thoroughgoing critism of prevailing concepts governing education and employment for youth in modern America.

The youths' critique was more a set of "working" ideas about youth and the barriers that prevent them from participating in the major social institutions which affect their lives, than a tightly honed, esoteric theory. Specific aspects of these working ideas were developed in the course of the youths' planning activities.

One of the central organizing perspectives adhered to by the team is that society often times keeps youth from fulfilling their most urgent need as adolescents, and as human beings: to make a positive contribution to their community. Schools, which have become the primary institution to socialize adolescents, keep youth on "hold" as passive learners, or as potential troublemakers in need of babysitting, until the youth graduate or drop out. Schools often compound the waste of youths' potential by segregating them from the "real world," and by keeping youth divided from each other along race, sex, age and class lines.

The nation loses much by authoritarian methods of dealing with youth. Youth educated in traditional school settings are often poorly prepared to assume constructive adult roles and responsibilities. Passive education does not adequately prepare youth to make individual or collective decisions, to work responsibly with others to meet social needs, or to find their own identity by testing themselves through legitimate action in the community.

Linked with the failure of schools to provide options for youth to develop cognitively and affectively as humane, responsible citizens is the economy's failure to achieve full employment and thus allow youth to participate in the world of work. There are too few jobs for youth, and the jobs that are available are usually dead-end, offering employees little hope of advancing in their chosen career, and virtually no way to try different occupations to find the career which fits them best.

The other chapters of this report provide the history and data to support these charges against the standard ways to educate and (under)employ youth.

To respond to the unmet needs of youth, it is necessary to design work and education programs embodying what the National Commission on Resources for Youth calls "Youth Participation --the involvement of youth in responsible, challenging action that meets genuine needs, with opportunity for planning and/or decision-making affecting others, in an activity whose impact or consequences extends to others--i.e., outside or beyond the youth participants themselves."

A youth participation-oriented employment program includes systematic education and training of youth. This occurs through school courses related to the job and given in conjunction with it, on-the-job training, and discussions by youth and supervisors of their experiences on the job. Such educational support, preferably arranged with close cooperation between the youths' school and the workplace, is essential to project success.

The most effective learning and human development takes place when the youths learn about their work and themselves through a process of action/reflection/action. The youths act upon their environment in a constructive project, they discuss and sum up their experience (successes and failures),

learn related theory and history, and technical skills related to more successful completion of their project, and then return to the project armed with their new understanding. Such education is directed toward the solution of a particular problem, unlike the prevalent banking model of education, in which teachers deposit "knowledge" in a youth's head and expect him/her to draw it out and apply it many years later.

Youth participation projects develop personal skills (responsibility, decision-making, compassion, cooperation, working in groups, and personal problem-solving) as well as technical, vocationally-related skills. Youths are working at jobs related to their future careers, and they have a significant voice in deciding what they want to do and how it should be done. Youths also make choices now, rather than learning about making them in the future. Participation in determining project goals is designed for a cross-section of youth, not just a few elected representatives.

A youth participation-employment project requires that the agencies setting it up make a long-term commitment to providing the youths employment and training; part-time while they are in school, and full-time while they are out of school in the summer. Projects can be established in many different settings--from schools to public transit agencies--and involve youths in direct provision of services to others, such as, community action, improving a community's physical structures and environment, or in various internship and apprenticeship experiences.

A youth participation program pays the youth workers and includes the awarding of academic credit. Pay demonstrates that the agency or firm hiring the youth values their work enough to compensate for it. It also enables poor and working-class youths, who need paying jobs, to join in a

youth participation program that will help them educationally, rather than having to take a dead-end job.

Awarding academic credit likewise shows that society takes youth participation seriously, and allows youths to use school time to work on the project. Additionally, unless high schools and colleges give credit for youth participation programs, college-bound youths will avoid this experience in favor of traditional college-prep courses. This would turn youth participation into a new track for those not going to college. The restriction in youth participation's clientele that would result from refusal to pay or award credit for that program would greatly injure an effort which has as one of its aims the bringing youth of diverse backgrounds together to work on a common project.

The "working" theory of youth employment and training based on youth participation is further explained, with applications to the ongoing Portland project, in the remainder of this paper.

DESIGNING A YOUTH EMPLOYMENT PROGRAM--THE PORTLAND EXPERIENCE

This section of the paper describes how the youth employment planning team was set up and how the team leaders and youth participants established an employment program with Tri-Met. Included is a detailed description of how the project was organized, and a number of suggestions for others who wish to establish similar youth participation programs.

One point requires strong emphasis at the outset: <u>Any youth participation project must be carefully planned before being put into operation</u>. A hastely conceptualized or slipshod effort could kill the project at birth, and discredit the concept of youth participation in that community for years to

come. Selection of competent adult project leaders, development of a strategy and tactics to secure work, pay, and credit from schools and potential employers, educational support for participants, and selection and management of youths from diverse backgrounds are all critical elements to a successful project.

Development of a participation-oriented youth program begins with establishment of a youth planning/research team. This helps to develop a core of youths who will be active citizens and future team leaders. It also stimulates lasting and effective learning by the participants, and ensures that a diverse group of youths are involved in planning youth employment. This in turn makes the new project more responsive to youth needs and interests, and attacks the stereotype of shiftless, irresponsible, incompetent youth--a stereotype that needs to fade if youth participation is to become a reality on a large scale. YEPT urges that a youth research team continue in existence alongside a youth employment project during its entire life in order to give youth input into new directions for the program, and to be sure that the program continues to meet needs of youth as participants perceive them.

Internal Organization of the Youth Employment Planning Team

For ten youth researchers on the team, we employed three adult leaders--a project strategist, a project coordinator and a learning consultant. The project coordinator supervised the youth workers and organized, with the learning consultant, the training and education, including outside lecturers, for the team. The project strategist coordinated the work of the other two adults, set up meetings between YEPT and other agencies, raised

money, and made initial contacts with those who could arrange paid work and school credit for the youths in future youth employment programs.

YEPT found that three adult staff were necessary because of some practical considerations. First novice researcher/planners, whatever their age, need to receive a substantial amount of education and training prior to their involvement in paraprofessional planning activities. Second, the bureaucratic inertia of most organizations, such as Tri-Met, suggests the need for additional adult staff to direct (at least initially) group efforts which have a political character.

Youth employment teams operating within a single agency could use these three adult staff to oversee two teams of ten youths working on different projects at the same time. Three adult staff could likewise handle two youth research teams that are evaluating ongoing youth employment projects, since the hard initial work of training the youth and establishing the jobs program in the agencies will already have been done.

Recruitment of Youth for the Planning Team

YEPT chose youth researchers who could read, write, and talk, and who showed interest in, and dedication to the work of the project. School grades, work experience, criminal record, or medical history were not seen as relevant work qualifications. Participants' ages ranged from 14 to 21, although most were high school age. These hiring practices were successful and warrant replication--although, if time permits, applicants to work on the team should write a brief essay on why they are interested in the project. This change would improve the team leaders' screening for reading and writing ability.

YEPT recruited youths from three youth service centers (YSCs), agencies under the direction of the city of Portland's Youth Services Division (YSD), YEPT's main collaborator. Each YSC manager was asked to identify five youths to be interviewed. At the interview, the project was explained and applicants were asked about their interest in and experience for the planning jobs. The hiring process for the team was completed within a few days. However, YEPT's work would have been made easier had the YSD director notified the YSC managers of the nature of the planning project.[3]

Hiring a Diverse Group of Youth

Since the YSCs each covered a different neighborhood, YEPT hired youths from all parts of Portland. The planning team was comprised of blacks, whites, males, females, and working-class and poverty-level people. Educational levels ranged from dropouts and high school sophomores to high school graduates--two of whom are now in community college.

For future programs, the recruitment process should ensure a geographic mix if the project the youths will be working on is to be citywide. If the new project centers on a neighborhood, hiring should be from youth in local schools, community and citizen action groups, neighborhood association, and the juvenile justice/probation system. The intent is to ensure that all classes of youth, including those excluded from society's mainstream, have input into the planning of their neighborhood's future youth participation project.

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3 One other point warrants mentioning here. The authors have recruited several youth action teams over the past two years, and have found that teams recruited and hired all at once worked together considerably more smoothly than those where youths were hired over a period of several weeks. Youths for any one action team, whenever possible, should be hired and then put to work at the same time. What this does is eliminate the repetition of project start-up activities.

For any future youth employment program, whether it be for a neighborhood or an entire city, it is critical to have researchers represent diverse ages, educational backgrounds, races, sexes, and social classes. This will prevent the youth research group and the ensuing employment project from becoming stigmatized as an upper-class or a lower-class activity. Diversity challenges the traditional educational theory that some youth can undertake research and planning activities while others are too dumb or lazy. Rather, diversity substitutes the idea which has been proven in practice--any youth, given meaningful work, educational support and good leadership, can work well in almost any role--even one usually thought to require professional training. Diversity ensures that the needs of all youth are represented in employment planning, and it helps the planners reach all parts of the community. Lastly, a diverse research team will help team leaders evaluate the performance of a mixed group of youth.

Leadership of YEPT

Good adult leadership is critical to the success of a youth research/planning team. The Portland experience indicates that these traits and skills are essential:

--Desire to work with youth, and respect for their ideas, ability, and potential.

--Having formed, and being able to act upon, a theory of how people act and learn.

--Ability to teach, to communicate ideas and provide feedback.

--Recognizing that conflict is inevitable in human situations.

--Ability to tolerate and resolve conflicts within a group.

--Ability to cooperate with and lead a youth team that is racially, sexually, educationally and economically diverse.

--Sensitivity to the needs and feelings of youth.

--Acceptance and exercise of natural adult authority to set limits on youth participants' behavior and work habits, while not interfering with youths' ownership of the experience.

--Willingness to say "I don't know" at times, to admit mistakes, rather than bluffing to avoid "loss of face."

These needed qualities show that selection of leaders of youth research/action teams must be done carefully. The special skills, traits, and aptitudes required by a certain project should mesh with those possessed by the leader chosen. Do not assume that an adult will be successfully and thoroughly trained to assume leadership of a youth action team in a few weeks.

Project Leadership Training

Training of the leaders of the YEPT project required discussion of leadership style, learning theory, and the economic and political issues involved in designing youth employment. In addition, team leaders did some common reading:

National Commission on Resources for Youth, Youth Participation, December 1975.

Arthur Pearl, The Atrocity of Education.
"Personality Profiles of Disadvantaged Youth"
Landslide.

William Ryan, Blaming the Victim.

Management of the Youth Planners

YEPT developed these procedures to run the youth planning team:

--There was a process to deal with, rather than suppress, conflict within the group. There were some minor race and sex frictions within the youth team. Youths were informed beforehand that this may happen, and put that problem in its social context. The leaders said, "Rise above the conflicts, for if you use them as a way to avoid working on the substance of the project, you will confirm society's negative stereotypes of youth."

--Decision-making was done by the group as a whole.

--Time was set aside for the supervisors to be alone, so that they could plan, reflect, and recoup their energy.

During the course of the project, several pitfalls were identified that adult leaders of youth planning and research teams must be wary of:

--Fear of taking youths into the community or to meetings, because they might do or say something embarrassing.

--Public chastisement of youth participants.

--Adult domination of the project.

--Assignment of routine or menial tasks to youth participants.

--Equating "giving youths responsibility" to "leaving them alone"; responsibility increases youth participants' need for feedback from respected adults.

What the Youth Employment Planning Team Did This Summer

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Several members of the youth planning team--different ones each time--attended YEPT meetings with the Tri-Met management, the transit workers' union, and the representatives of various youth service agencies. After each of these meetings the youth and leaders who attended discussed with the entire group what had transpired.

In addition, the YEPT team met with a similar youth action team working under Comprehensive Options for Drug Abusers (CODA), and helped them formulate research instruments, and deal with problems occurring within the team. YEPT gave similar consultation to another youth team hired to do traditional, limited-substance youth program planning.

The basis of the YEPT team report comes from the youths themselves, who wrote a draft report. They also reviewed articles, did library research, read and criticized newspaper stories related to employment, energy, and transportation and kept diaries. A lecture on the project was also presented by YEPT at a graduate and an undergraduate class at the University of Oregon at Eugene.

Youths worked 40 hours per week for $2.30 per hour; time for recreation, including a group picnic, was set aside by leaders during the project.

YEPT leaders arranged the following 40-50 minute lectures, usually by guest speakers, as learning support for the youth: mass transit theory, manpower planning, youth employment and unemployment, urban design, problems

of the handicapped, light rail transit, research methods (statistics, surveying, and report writing), energy, and ecology.

YEPT completed this youth research/planning project during 10 weeks in the summer of 1977. In general, a summer youth action program is not conducive to causing immediate and major structural changes. There is enough time for consciousness-raising with the youths, but not enough time to research a problem, develop a solution, and implement it. As part of a participation-oriented youth employment project, the youth planning team needs to work year-round, part-time during the school year and full-time during the summer. Professionals could do the research much more rapidly, but in a youth participation program, it is necessary to train youths in research and planning--and that takes time.

YEPT recommends, as was true in this case, that youth planning and research projects be done in or close to universities, where there is access to a library, lecturers, and other educational support. If projects are to be organized within high schools, it is important that educational support be secured from allies within the university.

Youth Reactions to their Work with YEPT

Youths who participated in the YEPT planning effort praised their work and their leadership. Here follow the conclusions that youths who turned in end-of-summer reports reached:

--Participants found their work meaningful because they learned about mass transit, work, and unemployment. In the process, they also learned to study, do research, and write reports. The participants learned while working, helped to create change, and met different people--other youth workers of different backgrounds on the project, and the managers and workers they met in the course of doing their research. As one person said, "We have accomplished something most people would feel youth incapable of."

--Participants found this work experience different from others they had had. The job included education, and would help them get a better job later. People were paid for learning, and for some, it was their first non-manual job. The work environment was relaxed, and one youth said that his interest in the work helped him keep the job.

--Youths learned about data collection and analysis, survey taking, unemployment, pollution, the energy crisis, youth job needs, using the library, understanding bureaucracies, and the political system.

--Youths especially liked meeting and working with new people, including their diverse co-workers, and the many agency heads and workers they met while doing research. They enjoyed planning and pressuring for environmental improvement, and appreciated the relaxed work environment in which youth were treated as equals.

--Youths least liked the personality conflicts that occurred within the team, especially in the last three weeks. Other problems were absenteeism by some--and late paychecks from the City. However, those responding to the questionnaire called their problems with the job "minor."

--When asked what they would have done differently had they been running the project, all said they liked the project as it was, and especially liked the teaching.

--This participation-oriented youth planning team had an impact on its participants' lives. One person plans to seek a career in youth program planning; another feels better informed about the world and feels that the skills learned this summer will help get a better job later. Still another person said, "Having this job made me feel a lot better about myself and my environment . . . there are many things that I can do with myself and I can succeed if I try."

Forming Alliances with Other Agencies to Implement Youth Participation

In planning the research and implementing the youth job proposal that resulted, it was critical to establish close formal and informal ties with significant other agencies in the community. YEPT's leaders made such an alliance with the director of Portland's Youth Services Division (YSD) early in the research project. Repeated meetings of YEPT leaders with the head of the YSD led to a general consensus and an alliance based on mutual trust, common goals, and a philosophy shared by the leaders of YEPT and the YSD.

The YSD was the central agency in this planning scenario because it controls $2.5 million of city youth employment money. This department decides the number of youths to be employed, their wage, the duration of employment, and the kind of work the youths will do. Then too, YEPT leaders had been less successful in establishing a relationship with the schools that would induce them to commit school credit and teachers to the new youth jobs plan. There is no doubt that those who seek to establish youth participation-oriented employment programs must establish a friendly working relationship between the employment planners and those who can commit teachers, credit, and pay for the young workers.

The basis of YEPT's unity with the YSD was agreement among the two leaderships about the principles which should govern youth employment, as well as personal trust and liking between the leaders. The principles agreed upon were:

--Youth should have an active, responsible role in planning and evaluating their employment.

--Jobs created should allow youths to transfer from one career to another, and should help them rise the job ladder in that field if they wish.

--Youth workers should not drive adults into unemployment.

--Jobs created should be consistent with energy conservation and preservation of the environment.

--Race and sex discrimination should be actively fought in a youth job program.

--Society needs to put the innovative, creative energy of youth to work in productive ways.

--Youth employment money should create goods and services of significance to society as a whole, not just the youth workers. Therefore, work should meet a perceived and unsatisfactorily met social need.

--For these reasons, existing youth employment programs are often unsatisfactory, and new approaches should be tried.

Generally, what is needed is agreement that the goal of a youth job program is not just to plug youth more efficiently into existing institutions, but also to change those institutions. This shared awareness kept the planners on track, although there were disagreements within YEPT and between YEPT and the YSD over the specifics of implementing the program.

In approaching agencies and dealing with the public, it was important not to be seen as "radical" or "political." Rather, YEPT developed and emphasized acceptable and implementable ideas that dealt with specific, concrete needs for human services. Hence, the job proposals were acceptable to most administrators and disadvantaged youth.

Dealing with the Prospective Agency of Employment for Youths

After establishing favorable contact with the agency that could commit resources to build a youth employment program of the type outlined above, YEPT sought to win allies and neutralize opposition to the program within the agencies to be affected and the community at large.

The intent of the planning effort was to create jobs at Tri-Met, so it was necessary to win the backing of that agency, and those connected to it whose aid we would need: Tri-Met managers, the transit workers' union, the schools, and the Columbia Regional Association of Governments. In these agencies YEPT identified people who could relate to youths, and the goals of the planning effort.

Support was generated by going to meetings with the people concerned--explaining what YEPT was trying to do, and why their organization's involvement was necessary. Care was taken, from the outset, to rebut the stock objections to youth employment programs: "How can they get pay and school credit too?" and "It will take jobs from adults," etc.

At first, some at Tri-Met would not return YEPT telephone calls. It was apparent that some departments at Tri-Met did not want to undertake the additional work that creating new jobs would entail. YEPT also had to overcome the aftereffects of a badly-conceived youth career awareness program of the previous year. In that program, supervision of youths, liability insurance, the youths' relationship to union workers, and the relationship between that program and youth needs and goals were not worked out. That program was a failure and hampered our efforts to begin a soundly-planned youth job program--a clear warning to all who follow us to plan well before acting.

The YEPT strategy featured a multi-faceted approach to dealing with anticipated bureaucratic intransigence. This included arranging meetings with members of Tri-Met's Board of Directors and directors of various departments within Tri-Met. We also approached the leaders of the transit workers' union and sold them the plan. They in turn told us who to approach at Tri-Met and how. YEPT also contacted legislators with knowledge of mass transit in the tri-county area, as well as citizen advocates of better bus service. Together, these sources helped YEPT understand better what makes projects work or stop in the transit agency.

Through the YSD head's contacts with the Mayor of Portland, YEPT got the Mayor to write a letter to Tri-Met's acting general manager. In this letter the Mayor criticized the agency's inadequate response to youth needs in Portland with respect to bus routing, fares, and youth employment. This letter, with other political and labor pressure, moved the general manager and his employees to begin cooperating with YEPT.

Team members then met with the managers at Tri-Met who were most open to the planning goals, sold them the project, and got their agreement to hire 38 youths once the program and its funding were settled. YEPT went around pockets of resistance and offered proposals to answer objections. These included the provision of adult CETA workers to supervise and handle paperwork for new employees.

YEPT's Present Status

The new youth job program is ready to go. The money will arrive by November 1, 1977--and the youth jobs at Tri-Met are expected to start by Christmas. The youth employment planning team which did the initial work this summer continues in existence with the same people as members; they will provide ongoing evaluation of the new youth jobs program. In addition, YEPT has formed an alliance with a new youth research/planning team from Multnomah and Washington counties outside the Portland city limits, so that they may learn from YEPT's experience in Portland. YEPT hopes and expects that this spread of the theory and practice of participation-oriented youth employment will continue.

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STATISTICAL APPENDIX I

ON UNEMPLOYMENT

STATISTICAL APPENDIX I

ON UNEMPLOYMENT

Table I

CHANGE IN UNEMPLOYMENT RATES AND LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION RATES BY AGE, SEX AND RACE

	Unemployment Rates		Percent Change in Unemployment		Labor Force Participation Rates	
Age, Race, Sex	1969	1977	1953-69	1969-77	1954	1976
WHITE MALES						
16-17	12.5%	21.8%	40%	74%	47.1%	51.8%
18-19	7.9	14.2	11	79	70.4	73.5
20-24	4.6	9.0	2	95	86.4	86.2
WHITE FEMALES						
16-17	13.8	23.5	66	70	29.3	43.8
18-19	10.0	16.7	66	67	52.1	61.8
20-24	5.5	10.2	34	85	44.4	66.2
BLACK MALES						
16-17	24.7	50.4	198	104	46.7	30.2
18-19	19.0	34.7	134	82	78.4	55.6
20-24	8.4	22.8	7	171	91.1	78.4
BLACK FEMALES						
16-17	31.2	56.9	202	82	24.5	23.9
18-19	25.7	44.5	159	73	37.7	43.3
20-24	12.0	23.0	118	91	49.6	57.0

This table shows that women and high-school aged white men significantly raised their participation rate in the labor force between 1954 and 1976. However, the job market for black men was so bad that they left the labor force in droves. Unemployment rates rose most rapidly for people between 20 and 24 in the post-1969 turn from prosperity to stagnation.

The most striking feature of these data is the difference in the unemployment behavior of the several groups over the 1953-69 period, and the 1969-77 period. It was during the period of prosperity and rapid economic growth from 1953 to 1969 that the unemployment gaps between different age, race, and sex groups widened to yawning chasms. The normal processes of growth lifted white males with the rising tide, but left women, those under 18, and blacks behind--despite the promises of that period. Government unemployment and civil rights programs did not prevent this trend toward inequality, although it is very possible that without these programs the plight of blacks, women, and youth would have been even worse than it was.

The impact of the post-1969 economic stagnation was distributed much more equally, with the 1969-77 rate of increase of unemployment being similar for most age, race, and sex groups. In absolute terms, those who were at the bottom of the ladder in 1969 have fared worst in the stagnant seventies; by official measures, a majority of blacks under 18 who seek work cannot find it.

The number and kinds of people who are jobless are quite different in periods of depression and of prosperity. But if successive years of recession and of peak prosperity are examined, the trend can reveal long-run changes in the labor market. Here are the data:

Table II

UNEMPLOYMENT RATES BY AGE AND RATIO
OF YOUTH TO ADULT UNEMPLOYMENT

Expansions

Year	16-17 u.r.*	16-17 u.r. / 25+ u.r.	18-19 u.r.	18-19 u.r. / 25+ u.r.	20-24 u.r.	20-24 u.r. / 25+ u.r.	25+ u.r.
1948	10.0%	3.45	8.6%	2.97	6.2%	2.13	2.9%
1953	8.7	3.62	6.8	2.83	4.7	1.96	2.4
1956	12.3	3.72	10.2	3.09	6.6	2.00	3.3
1959	15.3	3.47	14.0	3.18	8.5	1.93	4.4
1969	14.5	6.59	10.5	4.77	5.7	2.59	2.2
1973	17.3	5.76	12.4	4.13	7.8	2.60	3.0
1977 (2nd. qtr.)	20.3	4.14	16.5	3.36	10.7	2.18	4.9

Recessions

1949	14.0%	2.91	13.0%	2.71	9.3%	1.93	4.8%
1954	13.5	2.87	12.0	2.55	9.2	1.95	4.7
1958	16.4	2.92	15.5	2.76	11.2	2.00	5.6
1961	18.3	3.39	15.8	2.92	10.4	1.92	5.4
1971	18.7	4.67	15.5	3.87	9.9	2.47	4.0
1975	21.4	3.51	18.8	3.08	13.5	2.21	6.1

These data show that every three to five years, as the economy grows and moves from recession to boom, youth are among those last hired. The age handicap is worse the younger a worker is. The gap between youth and prime-age adult unemployment was, in boom and slump, relatively stable between World War II and 1958-59. During the 1960s, as the economy grew, youth employment did not

*u.r. = unemployment rate and will be used throughout the Statistical Appendices.

keep pace, so that for all ages of youth, the gap between youth and adult unemployment reached record levels.

These findings, along with those gleaned from Table I, have clear meaning: not even rapid, sustained growth of the economy will be sufficient to significantly cut youth joblessness unless programs employing millions create jobs and train youth to fill them. Laissez-faire expansion will not lift all boats with the rising tide. A further implication is that government programs to stimulate the economy and widen the deficit will prove more inflationary than effective unless the spending goes directly to training and job creation in labor-intensive industry, especially since over half the jobless are now under 24.

This conclusion condemns broad-based tax cuts as a way to create jobs, for business may well respond to rising consumer demand by speeding up present workers, putting them on overtime, or investing in plant and equipment that produces more with fewer workers. Even more specifically does this attack giving tax incentives to generate jobs; left to do as they choose, big business has substituted capital for labor. Worst of all is encouraging investment in such industries as defense production and nuclear power, which spend billions for plants and equipment while hiring only a few highly-skilled workers for jobs that most youth can hardly hope to get.

Weak aggregate demand and economic stagnation are part of the youth employment problem, but not all of it; the problem's roots lies in the structure of work and education, and the use of private profit rather than social need as the yardstick governing our investment and growth.

Table III

SEASONALLY ADJUSTED UNEMPLOYMENT RATES
BY SEX AND AGE, 1975-1977

Age and Sex	June 1975	June 1977	Percent Change in Unemployment Rate, 1975-77
Male, 16-17	22.9%	22.7%	- 0.9%
Female, 16-17	19.4	19.7	+ 1.5
Male, 18-19	20.7	15.5	-25.1
Female, 18-19	18.3	17.5	- 4.4
Male, 20-24	13.9	9.9	-28.7
Female, 20-24	11.7	11.0	- 5.9
Male, 25+	5.8	4.1	-29.3
Female, 25+	7.5	6.3	-16.0

Unemployment fell appreciably only for men over 18 and women over 25.

Table IV

SEASONALLY ADJUSTED UNEMPLOYMENT DATA
BY AGE AND RACE, 1975-1977

	2nd Quarter, 1975		2nd Quarter, 1977		Percent Change in Unemployment Rate 1975-77
Age and Race	u.r.	Black u.r. / White u.r.	u.r.	Black u.r. / White u.r.	
White, 16-19	18.3%	2.12	16.0%	2.38	-12.5%
Black, 16-19	38.8		38.2		- 1.5
White, 16+	8.1	1.75	6.3	2.03	-22.2
Black, 16+	14.2		12.8		- 9.8

According to the above seasonally-adjusted data, unemployment is down less for youth than for the general population, but the most striking difference is racial--white youth unemployment fell significantly, while black youth unemployment was stable at a much higher level.

For both adults and youth, the gap between black and white unemployment widened, by roughly the same amount, as the economy grew. The gap between white and black unemployment levels remains greater for youth than for adults; both these points support the saying that youth are the "last hired and the first fired."

Table V

CHANGE IN UNEMPLOYMENT RATES BY AGE, RACE, AND GEOGRAPHICAL AREA, 1975-1977.

	Metropolitan Poverty Areas			Metropolitan Nonpoverty Areas		
Age and Race	2nd qtr 1975 u.r.	2nd qtr 1977 u.r.	% Change u.r. 1975-1977	2nd qtr 1975 u.r.	2nd qtr 1977 u.r.	% Change u.r. 1975-1977
White, 16-19	29.0%	20.1%	-30.7%	18.8%	15.7%	-16.4%
Black, 16-19	49.0	49.9	+ 1.8	32.6	41.4	+26.9
White, 16+	11.7	9.5	-18.8	7.9	6.1	-22.7
Black, 16+	17.1	16.6	- 2.9	11.8	11.4	- 3.3

Black city youth unemployment is rising, whether or not the youths live in ghettos. Whites uniformly fare better than blacks in reducing their unemployment. Surprisingly, youth joblessness for both races fell more (or rose less) in poverty than in nonpoverty areas. Optimists can say this is because of government programs; a pessimist may argue that many youths ceased looking for work in despair, and so are no longer counted as "unemployed" or "in the labor force."

Table VI

CHANGE IN UNEMPLOYMENT RATES BY RACE AND VETERAN STATUS

	Unemployment Rates		
Age 20-24	2nd qtr. 1975	2nd qtr. 1977	Rate of Change of Unemployment, 1975-77
White Veterans	19.0%	12.2%	-35.5%
White Nonveterans	13.1	8.9	-32.1
Black Veterans	32.8	29.9	- 8.8
Black Nonveterans	22.7	19.7	-13.2

For both races, veteran unemployment remains far above that for those who were never in the military, but race was more important than veteran status in determining how fast young adult unemployment fell after the 1975 recession.

Table VII

UNEMPLOYMENT RATES FOR HOUSEHOLD HEADS, AGES 16-24

	June 1975	June 1977	Percent Change in u.r. 1975-1977
Males	10.8	6.4	-40.7%
Females	11.8	9.5	-19.4%

Unemployment for youths supporting themselves and others remain high, although below the rates prevailing for other youth. Unemployment for males dropped 40 percent, more than twice the rate of decline for young female household heads. It should be little surprise that a very high proportion of female-headed households are poor, as defined by the government.

Table VIII

UNEMPLOYMENT RATES, JUNE 1977, AGES 16-21,
BY SEX, RACE AND EDUCATIONAL STATUS

	White Male	White Female	Nonwhite Male	Nonwhite Female
Student	29.4%	28.0%	57.3%	44.7%
Nonstudent	14.0	15.8	35.2	40.4

Unemployment for white students was double the rate prevailing for whites not in school; black student joblessness is very high, but less than double nonstudent rates.

Table IX

LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION RATES·
BY AGE, SEX, AND EDUCATIONAL STATUS

	Age 16-17		Age 18-19		Age 20-24	
Sex, Enrollment	1954	1974	1954	1975	1954	1974
ENROLLED						
Males	29.0%	43.4%	32.1%	44.5%	25.9%	55.5%
Females	17.9	39.2	17.8	39.5	26.6	56.2
NOT ENROLLED						
Males	86.5	78.0	95.9	89.8	96.1	95.4
Females	49.9	53.5	62.2	69.2	46.1	65.8

Tha labor force participation rate for students is up for both sexes and all age groups from the 1950s to the 1970s, with the sharpest increases among those aged 20-24; the female labor force participation rate has risen to roughly equal that for male students.

This increase in labor force participation may be due to the expansion of post-high school education to include not only the middle and upper classes, but also the upper parts of the working class. This implies that a higher proportion of students today must support themselves rather than relying on aid from their families. Also, the change in sex roles since 1954 (and the increased supply of service and lower white-collar jobs often filled by young women) has made it socially and economically possible for women to respond in the same way as men to economic pressures that students of either sex face.

Labor force participation for young males not in school fell from the 1950s to the 1970s, in line with a slow decline in male labor force participation rates at all ages over the last 25 years. This may indicate a growth in hidden unemployment, as people become discouraged and cease looking for work. Given the economic conditions of the 1970s, this seems more plausible than the theory that there has arisen a growing leisure class of young men who are not in school and find it unnecessary to work. If the second theory nas any truth to it, it may be that more long-jobless out-of-school men now live as an underclass at the margin of society--hustlers, pimps, drug dealers, drifters, street people. Further research is needed to explain falling male labor force participation rates.

Meanwhile, nonstudent female labor force participation rates have risen; the forces driving up student female labor force participation also operated on nonstudents.

STATISTICAL APPENDIX II

THE "REAL" JOBLESS RATE

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THE "REAL" JOBLESS RATE

Government data on persons not in the labor force but who say they "want a job now" for the second quarter of 1977 show that they are disproportionately found among youth. If these people are added to the corresponding age group in the labor force, the new labor force is larger than the one given officially by these amounts:

Table I

NEW LABOR FORCE AS A PERCENT OF OFFICIALLY-GIVEN LABOR FORCE

Age	Percent
16-19	118.0%
20-24	107.0%
25+	104.3%

Likewise for involuntary part-time employment.

Table II

PERCENT OF TOTAL OFFICIAL EMPLOYMENT ON INVOLUNTARY PART-TIME BASIS

Age	Percent
16-19	15.7%
20-24	6.1%
25+	2.9%

Persons who are on part-time work for economic reasons are disproportionately found among youth.

One can find a real unemployment figure by taking:

$$\frac{\text{Official unemployed + involuntary part-time + those not in labor force who "want job now"}}{\text{Official civilian labor force + those not in labor force who "want job now"}}$$

The results are:

Table III

"REAL" UNEMPLOYMENT RATE BY AGE, 1975 and 1977

Age	2nd qtr. 1975 u.r.	2nd qtr. 1977 u.r.	Percent Change in "Real" u.r.
16-19	45.4%	44.0%	- 3.1%
20-24	24.9	22.1	-11.2
25+	12.6	11.2	-11.1
All 16+	18.5	16.9	- 8.9

(By contrast, the "real" jobless rate for those 16 and over in 1969, the last year of official "full employment," was 10.7%.)

This table, like official figures, shows that joblessness fell from 1975 to 1977, but not by much. Those under 20 showed little improvement.

A breakdown of these figures for the second quarter of 1977 shows that, as might be expceted, blacks and women fare worse than whites and males in "real" unemployment. Official unemployment greatly understates female joblessness, an underestimate that increases with the age of the women. These data show that racial discrimination's impact is similar on youth and on adults--and that the majority of all Blacks under 25 need jobs.

In order to make clearer the impact of joblessness, and to show how the "real" joblessness rates were calculated, figures have been included that show the steps gone through to get the rates. For the number of those who want work but were not in the labor force, data were used from the

Table IV

"REAL" UNEMPLOYMENT RATES BY SEX AND AGE

Age	Male	Female
16-19	41.1%	47.2%
20-24	19.5	25.0
25+	7.7	16.5

Table V

"REAL" UNEMPLOYMENT RATES BY RACE AND AGE

Age	White	Black	Ratio of Black u.r. to White u.r.
16-24	23.4%	53.6%	1.89
25+	10.0	18.9	1.89

second quarter of 1975 and of 1977. For official employment, unemployment, labor force participation, and involuntary part-time workers, seasonally unadjusted June 1975 and 1977 data were used.

Data on people not in the labor force are available only on a quarterly basis, and the number of people involved change little within a quarter (and more slowly between quarters than does the official jobless rate.) Thus, the second quarter number of people out of the labor force, but wanting jobs now is a good approximation of the number in that plight in the month of June.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics seasonally adjusts jobless numbers so that variations express only changes in the level of economic activity rather than, for example, the change from Christmas to February or the change from the school year to summer vacation. With the increasingly

violent economic cycles of the Seventies, there are growing questions as to whether or not the Bureau of Labor Statistics is "adjusting out" real changes as well as seasonal "noise." Furthermore, it can be argued that an economy that thrusts workers into idleness because of a seasonal change is an unstable, malfunctioning economy. It matters little to someone just laid off that the pink slip is due to seasonal change rather than a slowdown. For these reasons, and because it is necessary to show the actual numbers of the jobless for June 1977 seasonally unadjusted data were used. (Spot checking showed that use of seasonally adjusted data would have altered the results little.) Here are the numbers: (All figures, in thousands, from the July 1977 Employment and Earnings, by the Bureau of Labor Statistics.)

Table VI

REVISED OFFICIAL LABOR FORCE

Age	Official labor force	+	Not in labor force, but say "want job now"	=	New labor force
16-19	10,987		1,980		12,967
20-24	15,044		1,055		16,099
25+	73,104		3,160		76,264

Table VII

REVISED OFFICIAL UNEMPLOYMENT RATE

Age	Official unemployment	+	Invol. Part-time	+	Not in labor force but say want job now	=	"Real" jobless
16-19	2,367		1,355		1,980		5,702
20-24	1,689		1,055		811		3,555
25+	3,397		2,027		3,160		8,584

This method yields a count of 17,841,000 jobless in America in the summer of prosperity, 1977!

STATISTICAL APPENDIX III

ON HIGH CRIME

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ON HIGH CRIME

This appendix provides the data used to get the Portland arrest rates and the relationship between rising unemployment and rising crime in Portland since 1969.

To figure the arrest rates for those over and under 18 in Portland required first that population data for Portland, for the years for which crime statistics existed, be gathered. Portland population data were provided by the Center for Population Research at Portland State University.

Table I

POPULATION OF PORTLAND, OREGON, 1969-1976
(in thousands)

1969	377.8	
1973	385.6	
1974	382.7	(estimated by interpolation from 1973 and 1975 data)
1975	379.8	
1976	382.0	

It was then necessary to estimate the proportion of the city's population under 18 years of age. Age breakdowns of the Portland population were not available for these years; Multnomah County figures which included that information were used. It is assumed that the age composition of the population in Portland and in the county as a whole are similar. By multiplying the Portland population by the estimated proportion of the population under 18, an estimate of the age breakdown of the Portland population was arrived at.

Table II

PROPORTION OF THE MULTNOMAH COUNTY POPULATION UNDER 18
1969-1976

1969	30.5%	
1970	30.2	
1973	27.5	
1974	27.3	(estimated by interpolation)
1975	27.1	
1976	26.7	

Table III

PORTLAND POPULATION BY AGE GROUP
(All figures in thousands)

Year	Total	Under 18	18+
1969	377.8	115.3	262.5
1973	385.6	106.0	279.6
1974	382.7	104.5	278.2
1975	379.8	102.9	276.9
1976	382.0	102.0	280.0

Next the numbers of arrests for crimes made by the Portland police were gathered and grouped into three major categories: violent crime, economic crime, and crimes of hedonism and defiance. Violent crimes included homicide, forcible rape, robbery, aggravated assualt, other assaults, and weapons violations. Economic crimes were burglary, larceny, auto theft, arson, forgery, counterfeiting, fraud, embezzlement, stolen

property, and prostitution. Crimes of hedonism included vandalism, sex offenses, gambling, disorderly conduct, drugs, drunk driving, and liquor law violations. Categorized this way, the Portland police made these arrests:

Table IV

ARRESTS OF PERSONS UNDER 18 (number)

Crime	1969	1973	1974	1975	1976
Violent	380	343	352	360	450
Economic	2,505	2,167	2,604	2,790	2,648
Hedonism*	1,461	984	1,101	911	816

Table V

ARRESTS OF PERSONS OVER 18 (number)

Crime	1969	1973	1974	1975	1976
Violent	1,429	1,282	902	1,387	1,622
Economic	1,895	2,314	2,771	3,190	3,508
Hedonism*	3,216	6,190	6,198	6,438	5,571

*It seems possible that changes in arrests for "hedonism" crimes reflects changes in laws and enforcement priorities rather than in the incidence of such behavior.

Adding the violent and economic crime arrests for each year and age group and dividing this total of arrests by the Portland population for the corresponding age group and population yields these arrests rates:

Table VI

ARRESTS RATES FOR VIOLENT AND ECONOMIC CRIMES IN PORTLAND PER 1,000 PEOPLE

	1969	1973	1974	1975	1976
Under 18	25.02	23.68	28.29	30.61	30.37
18 and over	12.66	12.86	13.20	16.53	18.32

Dividing these arrests rates by the 1969 adult arrest rate produces a set of index numbers that show how youth and adult arrests rates compare, and how they have changed since the end of the last period of full employment. A table entry of 2.23 means that arrest rates for the given age group and year were 2.23 times greater than the adult arrest rate in 1969.

Table VII

ARREST INDEX NUMBERS FOR 1969-1976 BY AGE

	1969	1973	1974	1975	1976
Under 18	1.98	1.84	2.23	2.42	2.40
18 and over	1.00	1.02	1.04	1.31	1.45

These index numbers make clear the closing of the gap between youth and adult arrest rates, due to rising adult crime.

The national, official unemployment rates for those under and over 18 for those years are as follows:

Table VIII

NATIONAL, OFFICIAL UNEMPLOYMENT RATES FOR THOSE UNDER AND OVER 18

	1969	1973	1974	1975	1976
Under 18	14.5%	17.1%	18.3%	21.4%	21.2%
18 and over	3.1	4.3	5.0	8.0*	7.2*

*estimates

Dividing the unemployment rate for each year and age group gives another set of index numbers which allows a direct comparison of youth and adult joblessness and their variation over time. A table entry of 2.58 means that joblessness for the given age group in the given year was 2.58 times as great as adult joblessness in 1969.

Table IX

UNEMPLOYMENT INDEX NUMBERS FOR 1969-76 BY AGE

	1969	1973	1974	1975	1976
Under 18	4.67	5.51	5.90	6.90	6.84
18 and over	1.00	1.45	1.61	2.58	2.32

Detailed unemployment data are not available for Portland, but the state Labor Department has indicated that the national unemployment figures are a good approximation of the level and rate of change of unemployment over time in Portland.

Using the data and the assumptions given so far in this appendix, the relationship between the increase in the unemployment rate and the increase in the crime rate in Portland since 1969 were determined. Letting $Y = f(X)$, where Y is the arrest rate index number and X is the unemployment rate index number, the following data were computed to find the coefficient of correlation and the linear equation showing the relationship between the excess of unemployment over 1969 adult levels and the excess of the arrest rate over 1969 adult levels.

The coefficient of correlation was .9839, showing a close relationship between the increase of crime and of unemployment. The equation was $Y = 0.24X + 0.72$. Thus, if unemployment doubles, rising from an index of 1 (3.1 percent) to an index of 2 (6.2 percent), the arrests rise from an index number of .97 to an index number of 1.21--a 25 percent increase. This result is similar to what Fleisher found in 1963.

The data indicate that there is a relationship between high crime and high unemployment. But few more precise statements can be drawn from the data, since there are too few years, and too little variability in the

Table X

UNEMPLOYMENT AND ARREST INDEX, 1969-1976

	X = Unemployment Index	Y = Arrest Rate Index
1969--youth	4.67	1.98
1969--adult	1.00	1.00
1973--youth	5.51	1.87
1973--adult	1.45	1.02
1974--youth	5.90	2.23
1974--adult	1.61	1.04
1975--youth	6.90	2.42
1975--adult	2.58	1.31
1976--youth	6.84	2.40
1976--adult	2.32	1.45

unemployment data. Also, a given rate of joblessness, or a given change in the rate of unemployment, may differently affect the propensity to commit crimes by the young and the old, blacks and whites, men and women. So, to get better results, the effect of these variables needs to be removed first.

STATISTICAL APPENDIX IV

A DECENT WAGE FOR YOUTH

STATISTICAL APPENDIX IV

A DECENT WAGE FOR YOUTH

The analysis of what a youth job should pay assumes that it should allow people under 20 to be self-supporting above the poverty level, and to save some money for emergencies and further education, if they are frugal. Wages should rise with job tenure to reward skill, experience, and diligence.

Under YEPT plans, the youths will be working this many hours:

3 months (12 weeks), 40 hours/week	= 480 hours
9 months (38 weeks), 15 hours/week	= 570 hours
2 weeks off	
Total	1,050 hours

Youth needs may be calculated thus:

Each year, the Bureau of Labor Statistics calculates three budgets for an urban family of 4--one breadwinner husband, age 35-50, a dependent wife, and a boy and a girl between 9 and 16. For 1976, they estimated that an "austere" standard of living for such a family would cost $10,041; a "modest but adequate" standard, $16,236, and a "higher standard" of living, $23,759. The detailed definitions of the three budgets show that with a lower budget, one is hard pressed to make ends meet; a middle budget represents the normal working class standard of living, and a higher budget is the lower border of the affluent society.

The 1975 Handbook of Labor Statistics includes estimates of the cost of maintaining other living arrangements than the conventional 4-person

family on which it bases its budget. To maintain the stated levels of living, others must spend these percentages of the 4-person family budget: single person, under 35 years--35 percent of stated level; parent under 35, child under 6--40 percent of stated level; husband and dependent wife under 35--49 percent of stated level; and husband, dependent wife, 1 child under 6--62 percent of stated level. These living situations probably describe almost all people under 20 not living with their parents and relying solely on themselves for support.

The cost of the different standards of living is as follows, with the upper figure in each pair being the annual cost of the given standard of living for the given household type, and the lower figure in parentheses being the corresponding hourly wage for 1,050 hours of work per year. (For a single person, the CETA poverty line is roughly 80 percent of the lower standard of living cost--$2,800-2,900 per year, or roughly $2.66 per hour.)

Table I

STANDARD OF LIVING COSTS

	Single Person	Parent and Child	Husband, Wife	Couple and Child
Lower	$3,514 ($3.34/hr.)	$4,016 ($3.82/hr.)	$4,920 ($4.68/hr.)	$6,225 ($5.92/hr.)
Middle	$5,683 ($5.41/hr.)	$6,494 ($6.18/hr.)	$7,956 ($7.52/hr.)	$10,066 ($9.58/hr.)

A youth may enter a comprehensive youth employment program at age 15 or 16 and leave it at age 18-20, after 2-4 years of work. At age 15, the youth is probably single, in high school, and living with relatives. Those who choose to work after school hours rather than participating in

sports, debates, student government, glee clubs, and the like are probably not more than middle-income. The "single person" standard of living is appropriate here; if the youth isn't living alone (as more and more do), savings may well go to support the family, save for further schooling, (and buy ways to forget 6 hours of school, 3 hours of work, and homework). By ages 18-20, the youth is probably living independently, and half are headed to college, community college, or trade school. The youth is more likely to be married and/or with a child. The standard of living for the married or single-parent families is increasingly appropriate.

Benefits may make up 5-10 percent of the total wage costs; comprehensive medical and disability insurance, a vacation, and possibly life insurance seem to be the relevant fringe benefits for this age group.

From the above information, a decent wage scale, measured in 1976 dollars, can be given for the youth employment program:

Table II

WAGE SCALES FOR YOUTH EMPLOYMENT PROGRAMS

First year	$3.00-3.30/hr.
Second year	$3.40-3.70/hr.
Third year	$3.80-4.20/hr.
Fourth year	$4.40-5.00/hr.
Extra	$5.00-6.00/hr. for unusually dangerous, unpleasant or skilled work

Wages should be fully indexed to rise with inflation.

The lower end of the scale is somewhat above the new Federal minimum wage of $2.65/hr., and equals the original union proposal to Congress. The upper end of the scale has wages comparable to jobs at, or one step

above the entry level in large, union or government workplaces--jobs that youth should be able to enter if the training program has worked well.